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JOHN BOWNE OF FLUSHING, 1627-1695.

By Charles Yarnall.

INTRODUCTION.

By the Editor.

The following paper on John Bowne * is part of a longer one entitled, "John Bowne, His Contemporaries and Descendants," written in 1852 by the late Charles Yarnall (1800-1877), who was himself a descendant of John Bowne. Charles Yarnall was for many years one of the prominent Friends of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He was highly educated, widely read, and was instinct with literary taste and appreciation. He was one of the founders of *The Friend* (Philadelphia) in 1827, and for a number of years contributed to its columns over the signature "C." He helped also to establish the *Friends' Review* in 1847, which in 1894 was merged into *The American Friend.* He was deeply interested in education, was one of the founders of Haverford College, for thirty-eight years a Manager, and for thirty-four years Secretary of the Board. He was largely instrumental in the re-organization of the William Penn Charter School in 1875, and always took a deep interest in its welfare.

In regard to the present paper, he writes in a memorandum attached: "These Memorials of the common ancestor of the Bowne's are selected from original papers preserved in the family mansion at Flushing, Long Island. This house was built in the year 1661.....The Yearly, Quarterly, and Monthly meetings for the Province of New York were long held in this house. In it the most distinguished ministers of the Society of Friends.....found a resting place, enjoyed social communion, and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ."

His manuscript, with others, has come into the keeping of the Editor, and it seems worthy of reproduction in the pages of the Bulletin.

The "Bowne House" is now owned by Mary (E. Mitchell) Parsons, whose husband, the late Robert Bowne Parsons (ob. 1898), was a lineal descendant of John Bowne. Her daughter writes of the house under date of "April 14, 1908," "It contains the same old furniture, china and papers; nothing has been changed that we could prevent."

The notes referring to printed authorities have been supplied by the Editor. In general, the reader may be referred to Bowden's History of Friends in America, London, 1850, 1: 308-338; Bishop's New England Judged, ed. 1702-3, pp. 213-220; Besse's Sufferings; George Fox's Journal folio ed 1694, pp. 365, 370; Bi-Centenary, edition 2: 167, 174; Croese's History of the Quakers, Latin or English edition, 1696, Part III.

*Note. As the spelling of that day was largely phonetic, the name occurs as Bowne, Bown, Boun, Bound.

John Bowne was born at Matlock, Derbyshire, England, March 9th, 1627. He was the son of Thomas Bowne, of whom little is known, except that in the year 1649, he, with his daughter, Dorothy, accompanied his son John on his voyage to Boston, and that he subsequently lived and died at his house in Flushing. John Bowne was not in affluent circumstances when he reached America. The following entry occurs at the beginning of a journal kept by him: "Monday 23d Jany 1649—I entered into Mr. Philips' Service, for which Service I am to have five Shillings for every week, one half in money and one half in wine to myself or whom I shall assign, and also my diet and washing and lodging for so long as I shall please to stay with him, I being free at every week's end, if I will." After a brief visit to his native land, he appears to have settled at Flushing, Long Island, in the year 1656, where his sister Dorothy had previously married Edward Farrington.

In the year 1656, May 7th, John Bowne was married to Hannah Pheaks [or Feaks, or Feeks], of Flushing.

It appears that a few members of the Society of Friends had found their way to the infant settlement, and were in the practice of meeting together in the woods for Divine Worship. Hannah Bowne became attached to them and was received into membership. Her husband, attracted by curiosity, went on an occasion when this little company were met, to look at them, and while there was so struck by the beauty and simplicity of their worship that he invited them to meet at his own house in future. Nor was it long before he joined them himself, influenced not only by love for his wife, but by the conviction that their principles were those of primitive Christianity. Well, indeed, was it for him that this change of religious profession was the result of settled belief. It was soon to be brought to a severe test, and if it bore that trial of its strength, it was only because "he endured as seeing Him that is invisible."

It is not easy to account for the sudden outbreak of religious persecution in the colony of New Netherland. Religious toleration had always been the policy of the Dutch Government, and there was little in the phlegmatic habits of the people to induce them to interfere with the doctrinal opinions of their neighbors.

Governor, Peter Stuyvesant, a military man indifferent to sectarian controversy, but sorely tried by the encroaching spirit shown by his Puritan neighbors, was solely bent upon maintaining the peace of the colony, whose position was daily becoming more insecure. In the year 1656, two travelling Friends had landed at New Amsterdam, called upon the Governor, and been civilly received. But a few days after, one of them, Robert Hodgson, having crossed over to Long Island, was there arrested as a Quaker, sent back and committed to prison, and the Governor was induced, by what agency does not appear, to subject him to the most barbarous treatment, so that his life was in great danger. It is, perhaps, no want of charity to ascribe to the Puritan settlers on the island the instigation of this severe persecution....The settlers in Connecticut, an off-shoot from the same stock, were frequently at variance with their Dutch neighbors, in consequence of the Puritans' wish to extend southwardly and westwardly their somewhat narrow limits. The government of New Amsterdam was no doubt anxious to propitiate these restless sectarians, and it is not too much to infer that the persecutions which they yielded to rather than promoted, had their origin in this motive. Soon after the meetings of Friends began to be held in his house, John Bowne was complained of to the "Council of New Netherland," as appears from the following minute on the records still preserved at Albany.*

(Translation.) "Complaint made 24 August, 1662, by the magistrate of Flushing, that many of the inhabitants are followers of the Quakers, who hold their meetings at the house of John Bowne, and it is forbidden to bring the strolling people called Quakers into the province without obtaining the consent of the Government."

*Note. The original reads thus: "Thursday, August 24th, 1662. To the Noble Honorable Director General and Council of New Netherland. The Magistrates of Rustdorf came here to-day and in form of complaint reported to the Director-General, that the majority of the inhabitants of their village were adherents and followers of the abomnible sect, called Quakers, and that a large meeting was held at the house of John Bound, in Vlissingen [Flushing], every Sunday. They requested, that this might be prevented one way or the other. Date as above. By these presents are all Magistrates and Inhabitants of the English Townes, in the Jurisdiction of the New Netherlands, Ordered and Required to assist the Bearer, our Schout Resolved Waldron for to imprisson all such persons which shall be found in a prohibited or unlawfull meeting. Given under our hand this 9th of September Anno 1662." (Col. Docs., N. Y., 14; 515; and Eccl. Records, N. Y., 1: 526).

This proceeding seems to have been quickly followed by the imprisonment of the accused, and the following entry appears on the minutes of the Council under date "Thursday, 14 Sept., 1662." "Because John Bowne, at present prisoner, dwelling at Flushing, upon Long Island, has made no scruple in contempt of the orders of the Director General and Council of the New Netherlands, made and published against the Quakers, not only to lodge and entertain some of that heretick and abominable sect called Quakers, but, moreover, has condescended unto them at several times to hold their conventicles and meetings in his house, where he, not alone, but his whole family, have been present, by which also the said abominable sect [have been encouraged] and ministers of the Word of God do blame [us as tending] to undermine both the policy and worship of God, but others also are led out of the right way, which, altogether are acts of ill consequence, whereout is likely to redound much evil, heresies and differences, etc., etc., he ought to be corrected as an example to others, etc." Whereupon the Council proceeds to impose a fine of twenty-five pounds Flemish upon the prisoner, "with an express admonition and interdict to abstain from all such forementioned meetings and conventicles" under penalty of twice the above fine for a second offence, and for a third offence, to be banished out of the province of New Netherland.*

John Bowne having refused to pay the fines imposed upon him, was confined in a dungeon on bread and water, day and night, no one being allowed access to him.†

Finding that he continued immoveable, he was removed to another prison and allowed to see his wife and other friends.

*Note 1. A law passed Feb. 1, 1656, is as follows: "The Director-General and Council strictly forbid all such public or private conventicles and meetings, except the usual and authorized ones, where God's Word, according to the Reformed and established custom, is preached and taught in meetings held for the religious service of the Reformed Church comformably to the Synod of Dort, which is to be followed here as in the Fatherland, and in the other Reformed Churches of Europe; under a fine of one hundred pounds Flemish, [$240], to be paid by all who, in such public or private meetings, except at the usual authorized gatherings on Sundays or other days, presume to exercise, without due qualification, the duties of a preacher, reader, or chorister; and each man or woman, married or unmarried, who is found at such a meeting, shall pay a fine of twenty-five pounds Flemish [$60]. Thus done February 1, 1656." (Eccles. Records, N. Y., 1: 343). See also Bowden, Friends in America, 1: 317; Bishop's New England Judged, 218).

†Note 2. Bowden, Friends in America, 1: 322; Bishop's New England Judged, 446; Croese, History of Friends, 1696, Part 3; Amer. Hist. Record, 1: 4th 8, 1872.

He was then informed that he was to pay the fine or be sent out of the country, or that he would be set free upon his promise to quit the country in three months. Declining to accede to these terms, he was permitted to visit his friends upon condition that he would return to his prison in three days. On the 31st of 10th Month (December), 1662, he was carried on board a ship bound for Holland.

While John Bowne was confined in jail he received the following letter. Of John Hodgson, the writer of this epistle of Christian sympathy and encouagement, we know but little. His name several times occurs in Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," as the subject of persecution in England. The allusion to his brother Robert warrants the supposition that he was the brother of that Robert Hodgson, who, six years before, had well nigh become a martyr to his faithfulness, and of whose sufferings a full and touching account is to be found in Besse:

"For the hands of my dear friend John Bowne, at Prison in Manhattan":—

DEAR FRIEND.—I dearly salute thee, and in that love which changeth not do I embrace thee, and am near thee in the Spirit tho' afar off in the body—Dear Heart, in bowels of love unfeigned I write these few lines unto thee, thou Prisoner of Hope, desiring, entreating and beseeching thee, my dear friend, to eye and mind the Lord in all his outgoings and his comings in, and heed not the wrath that thou mayst see the enemies of our God in—For their time is but short [ ], and that our God will greatly appear for us; and thou my dearly beloved in the Lord, be valiant and bold in, and for, the Truth—thou, whom our God has chosen and called forth in these parts to suffer for him and his everlasting Truth in the midst of a perverse generation. And this know, my dear Friend, that the eyes of many are upon thee, some for good and some for evil. Therefore, my friend, be staid in thy mind, and freely given up in all things, that thou mayst be of good savour for our God, both in them that are appointed for life and also them that perish. I know that if thou abide faithful, thou shalt not be tempted above measure. The God of love, and our life, keep thee in perfect peace. Amen, saith my soul—so be it.

Thy dear brother in love,

JOHN HODGSON.

P. S.—My soul is refreshed, dear John, in learning of thy faithfulness and boldness in the work of the Lord. He will smite them and the Lord's enemies and wound them to the heart. Robert and myself and child are to go on board in the morning betimes. Friends' love is to thee. Fare thee well.

J. HODGSON.

Written this first day of the week, 1662.

While John Bowne, thus banished from home and kindred, was on his voyage, a dispatch was addressed by the Colonial Council to the Government at home from which an extract follows:

"We omitted in general letter the troubles and difficulties which we and many of our good inhabitants have since sometime met with, and which daily are renewed by the sect called Quakers, chiefly in the country and principally in the English villages, establishing forbidden conventicles and frequenting those against our published placards and disturbing in a manner the public peace. In so far that several of our magistrates and well-affectioned subjects complained to us from time to time of their insufferable obstinacy, unwilling to obey orders or judgment. Among others, one of their principal leaders, John Bowne, who, for his transgressing, was, in conformity to the placards, condemned in an amende of 150 guilders insuivant; who has now been under arrest more than three months for his unwillingness to pay, obstinately persisting in his refusal, in which he still continues, so that we at last resolved, or were rather compelled to transport him in this ship from this province, in the hope that others might by it be discouraged. If, nevertheless, by this means no more salutary impressions are made upon others, we shall, tho' against our inclinations, be compelled to prosecute such persons in a more severe manner, in which we previously solicit to be favoured with your honorus, wise and forseeing judgment.

"Fort Amsterdam in New Netherlands, 9th Jan'y, 1663."*

To this dispatch, which breathes the spirit and is expressed in the wonted language of the Puritan persecutors of New England, "the wise and forseeing judgment" of the Directors of the West India Company, who were the proprietors of the province, vouchsafed the following well-merited rebuke:

"To the Governor and Council of the New Netherlands:

"We finally did see from your last letter that you had exiled and transported hither a certain Quaker named John Bowne, and, although it is our cordial desire that similar and other sectarians might not be found there, yet as the contrary seems to

*Note. Bowden, 1: 324.

be the fact, we doubt very much if vigorous proceedings ought not to be discontinued, except you intend to check and destroy your population, which, however, in the youth of your existence, ought rather to be encouraged by all possible means; wherefore it is our opinion that some connivance would be useful, that the consciences of men, at least, ought ever to remain free and unshackled. Let every one be unmolested as long as he is modest, as long as he does not disturb others or oppose the Governments. This maxim of moderation has always been the guide of the magistrates of this city, and the consequence has been that, from every land, people have flocked to this asylum. Tread thus in their steps, and we doubt not you will be blessed." Abraham Wilmendonk, David Van Baerle. Dated Amsterdam, 16th April, 1663."*

John Bowne arrived in Amsterdam on the 29th of Second month, 1663. It would appear by his letters to his wife that he landed in Ireland, and was then at liberty to go to Amsterdam at his leisure. On his arrival, in company with his friend, that eminent minister of the Gospel, William Caton, he had several interviews with the Directors of the West India Company, and, although probably under some misapprehension of his case, they told him that he might send for his wife and children, but could not be suffered to live in the province unless he would submit to the laws. They afterwards seemed to accede to his requests, and left him at liberty to join his family. From Amsterdam, John Bowne addressed to his wife the following letter, dated Fourth month [June] 9th, 1663.

MOST DEAR AND TENDER WIFE.—In the truth of our God I dearly salute thee, and unto thee doth my love and life flow forth exceedingly. But my dearest desire for thee is, that thou mayst be preserved faithful to the Lord, and may grow and prosper in his living Truth. So my dear Heart, be bold for the Lord and let nothing discourage thee—for he is a sure reward to all those who freely and singly give up all for his Truth's sake, the which I believe thou canst truly witness with me; and this I can truly say in all my trials—I find the Lord to be my sure helper, my rock, and my defence. He has brought

*Note. Col. Records, N. Y., 14: 525, 526; Eccles. Records, N. Y., 1: 530; Bowden, 1: 325.

me to be content with what he is pleased to direct me in. Dear Heart, I writ a letter for thee when I arrived in Ireland * * and when I got into Derbyshire, I writ again * * When I came to London there was a Boston ship, to go in which I was lovingly proferred a passage where several friends were to pass, and glad would I have been to have taken that opportunity, if I had had freedom for it, but it being otherwise, I sent a letter by Elizabeth Hooton, and a box of books by the Master of the ship, which, if they come to hand, it may be best not to dispose of them untill I come (I hope it will not be long first). For it being upon me to pass over to Holland, I hastened away and had a good passage * * I manifested my case to the West India Company by sending in a writing which they read, and acordingly appointed Committees to sit about it. But it being feasting time, and they that are great not minding them that are little, we could not get a hearing for fourteen days, but when we (I, William Caton and an interpreter), came before them, they were very moderate [seeming] not to take any offence at [our hats] or the like—neither one word against me in any particular, nor one word tending to the liking of anything that was done against me, but freely and without any scruple, promised with joint consent, that the next day at the eleventh hour my goods should be delivered to me—orders were given to the keeper of the Guard House to that purpose, but he, with others of the underling officers, consulted together and asked me if I had paid my passage money, and [said] the Company were not willing to spent money upon such an account (although ordered by the Governor), and the [evil one?] taking place in them, they do not only detain my goods, but also deny me a passage home, except upon gross and unreasonable terms (which I could rather lay down my life than yield unto) * * * I have sent thee a trunk full of things—in the crown of the undermost hat thou mayst find a paper wrapped about a little bundle, wherein is information * * * I have also sent thee a young man, who is my servant for six years, as will appear by covenant, a copy of which I think to send thee * * I would have you all be loving to him—but be wise therein and let him not get a head over any of you. He hath been something high, and not used to labour—let him not be lavish in wearing his things. If he should be heady, that thou be burdened with him, then put him to brother Farrington untill I come * * * and now my dear Lamb, my tender greeting to my dear Father, my tender love to all my brothers and sisters and my little children. * * So my dear Lamb, my having been up all this night to write, and now not having more time, I must and do conclude in tender love to thee and my dear children, in which love the Lord God of my life preserve and keep you all. Amen.

Thy dear husband,

JOHN BOWNE.

P. S.—Dear George Fox and many other friends desire their dear love and tender salutation remembered to all Friends.

The Elizabeth Hooton mentioned in the above letter as being about to sail from London to Boston, was a remarkable instance of the perseverance of the early Friends in the discharge of duty. In the year 1659, she had been imprisoned in Boston in company with William Leddia, until he was put to death. She was afterwards taken from jail and carried a day's journey into the forests, and there abandoned to beasts of prey. She, however, was enabled to reach Rhode Island, and at length returned to England. Feeling it her duty to revisit that land overshadowed by the merciless spirit of intolerance, she sailed in the ship alluded to by John Bowne. On her arrival in Boston, although bearing with her the king's license to reside in any of the English provinces, she was kept four days in the stocks, shut up in a dungeon without bread or water, whipped through three towns with a knotted three-corded whip, and then, lacerated as she was, carried on horse-back many miles into an uninhabited wilderness, and there abandoned, to the eminent peril of her life as well from exposure and starvation as from the wild beasts which were numerous in the forest. Although her persecutors, on leaving her, expressed the hope that they would see her no more, she was favored to reach Rhode Island. Returning once more to Boston, she was again lacerated with whip, and again abandoned in the wilderness. She was at this time over sixty years of age—a woman of substance and of high respectability. It would be difficult to find in the annals of bigotry recitals of greater cruelty than those which stain almost every page of the early history of the Puritans of New England.*

Although the Directors of the West India Company had acted with apparent friendliness towards John Bowne, it was manifest that they or their subordinates were disposed to deal with him as a culprit. This conviction drew from him the following manly, but truly Christian letter:

Friends:—

The paper drawn up for me to subscribe, I have perused and weighed, and do find the same not according to that engagement with me, through one of your members namely, that he or you would do therein by me as you would be done unto and not otherwise. For which of you being taken by force from your wife and family (without just cause) would be bound

*Note. See Bishop New England Judged ed. 1703, pp. 403-421; Bowden 1: 255-262.

from returning to them unless upon terms to act contrary to your consciences and deny your faith and religion. Yet this in effect do you require of me, and not less. But truly I cannot think that you did in sober earnest ever think I would subscribe to any such thing. It being the very thing for which I rather choose freely to suffer want of the company of my dear wife and children, imprisonment of my person, the ruin of my estate there, in my absence, and the loss of my goods here, than to yield or consent to such an unreasonable thing as you would thereby enjoin me unto. For which I am persuaded you will not only be judged in the sight of God, but by good and godly men [You appear] rather to have mocked at the oppressions of the oppressed, and added afflictions to the afflicted, than herein to have done to me as you would in the like case be done unto, which the loyal law of our God requires.

I have with patience and moderation waited several weeks, expecting justice from you, but behold an addition to my oppression in the measure I receive. Wherefore, I have this now to request for you, that the Lord will not lay this to your charge, but give eyes to see and hearts to do justice, that you may find mercy with the Lord in the day of Judgment. .

JOHN BOWNE.

In the Fourth month, 1663, he left Amsterdam, and after visiting his sister Truth, who had remained in England, he sailed for Barbadoes, in company with a Friend from Yorkshire, Thomas Hornor, and soon after his arrival in that Island, this Friend deceased on the 23rd of Ninth month, 1663. He was one of a large family of respectable yeomanry who appear to have been among those who were, at an early period, convinced of the principles of truth as held by Friends. They suffered much from fines and imprisonment; and some of them being probably men of substance, freely opened their houses for the meetings of the infant Society, and were thus made to suffer heavy penalties. Of Thomas Hornor himself, little is known, but the letter of his kinsman, which is inserted below, indicates the earnest, loving, faithful sufferer for the truth of whom this family furnished many examples in those times.

John Bowne reached his home, by the way of Maryland, on the 30th of First month, 1664, having been absent fifteen months. We may imagine the joy of that meeting to hearts so tender and so true as John and Hannah Bowne's.*

*Note. "Sometime after his return, the Governor meeting him in the street, seemed ashamed of what he had done and told him, 'He was glad to see him safe home again,' and that, 'He hoped he should never do any more to any of his friends.'" Besse, 2: 237, ed. 1753.

The family name of the writer of the following letter addressed to John Bowne is illegible as well as the date. The latter is determined by the contents to have been about the time to which we have now come. The allusions in the letter to Thomas Hornor, and the date from his "Prison House in Wakefield" sufficiently designate the writer as Bartholomew Hornor, who is mentioned by Besse as having twice been committed to jail in that place. His first offence was advising a justice of the peace, who was in a violent rage, to be sober; his second imprisonment was in 1660 [for refusing to take an oath], and although its duration is not mentioned, so common was it to detain Friends for years under confinement that there is no difficulty in concluding that it continued at the date of this letter. In 1670, he was fined £55, a sum equal in our times to near $700, for a meeting in his house.

Dear Friend, John Bowne.—My dear love in the Lord is to thee and to our dear friends with you, and in feeling of the same, and daily enjoyment thereof is my soul and spirit joined and united with the covenant of life and peace. Dear John, I did receive a letter which came from thee concerning my cousin Thomas, who was my true and faithful friend, with whom my soul had true fellowship and a deep union. The things which we heard of did go very near, as that such a dear man should be taken from us, yet we could but hear and rest in the Lord's content. I desire, dear John, to hear what thou laid out about my cousin Thomas, and what monies thou wants, for there is most of his possessions here with us, and I desire thee to give me a short account, for I believe there is [enough] to pay. So I desire thee again to let me know, for the rest falls to his brethren and, when I hear from thee, they may have it. And, dear John, thy care and thy love was very much enlarged to my dear and tender cousin; in the which I and all his relations were glad that he was with thee; and what we heard from thee of him was a deep comfort to us. Dear John, as touching things of the present, in the county of Yorkshire, there is not much ado. The Lord keeps them down. In York Castle I do not know that there are ten in prison upon the act lately made. At the House of Correction in Wakefield aand in Leeds, there are now 26 prisoners (I am one and was sent from Leeds) and not any more. The Lord keeps them much down in the county, and Friends are very noble, and truly have a good report, and righteousness is more and more esteemed amongst most people. Blessed be the name of the Lord forever! In the south they are very bad, and deal harshly with Friends—yet they are

*Note. Besse 2: 97, 102, 135.

[faithful] and very bold for the name of our God. I rest from writing, yet my dear love remains with thee. Salute thee dearly to Friends where dear cousin Thomas deceased; and to the rest of the faithful followers of our God; and the Lord keep them all faithful forever.

Thy dear brother and companion in the Lord,

BARTHOLEMEW [HORNOR].

Written at my prison-house in Wakefield, 6 miles of Leeds in Yorkshire, 1st day of 9 mo. [1664]. Dear George Fox, lately here, is well, he is in prison at Lancaster, and Margarett Fell.

It appears from his journal that George Fox passed through Yorkshire in the latter part of 1663, and, going to Lancastershire, he heard at Swarthmoor of a warrant having been issued against him upon which Margaret Fell accompanied him to the justice. He was committed to Lancaster jail and subsequently Margaret Fell was also there imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance. They were tried at the March assizes, 1664, and Geo. Fox remained the whole of that and the following year in confinements.

The atrocious act of 1664 against conventicles, which subjected those refusing to attend the Episcopal worship and attended their own religious meetings, to fines, banishments, slavery, and finally to death, was no doubt "the late act" referred to in this letter. Among the letters which the return of John Bowne to his home elicited, there was one from Joan Brocksupp. She arrived in the colony of Virginia in the year 1661 in company with Elizabeth Hooton, and after encountering many hardships, reached Boston, where she was soon shut up in prison, and was then, with her companion, driven into the wild forests and left to wander without food until they reached Rhode Island, which, under the government of Roger Williams, was then a refuge for those who fled from the intolerance and cruelty of the Puritans. Under a sense of religious duty, she returned to Boston from Barbadoes, was soon arrested and shipped off to Virginia. It would appear that she had received kindness from John Bowne and others, which is acknowledged in her letter and that of her husband which follow:

DEAR JOHN BOWNE.—My dear love in the Lord Jesus Christ doth dearly salute thee, and often doth my love stream forth unto thee and thy dear wife with the rest of thy family, and all dear friends about thee * *

For I can truly say they are all as dear and near unto me as my own life, whose minds are kept steady upon the living Rock which is Christ in them, the hope of glory. So, dear John, the Lord God of my life keep thee in the sweet, savoury life of innocency, in thy own particular that so thou may come to try all things both outwardly and inwardly. Dear John, I received one letter from [ ], and one from Barbadoes, wherein thou desireth me to give account to Friends in Yorkshire concerning dear Thomas Hornor. I did so, but never heard anything from them again. * * But dear Heart, I was at Matlock, at a meeting at ancient [ ] House. I was at Anthony Woodward's house. He is convinced of the truth of God, and comes sometimes to our meeting with his wife, and there are some breathings after God thereaway. I saw thy sister but a day since, and she was in good health—her love was to thee. I was with dear George Fox and dear William [ ], their dear love was to all Friends.

Friends here are generally very well and a growth in the church is witnessed. Glory and honour, and praises be unto the Highest forever and ever! Amen. So my dear friend, whom my soul dearly loves, in the unchangeable love of the Father of life, do I bid thee farewell. And my prayers are unto our God for thee, and all the upright in heart, that you may all be kept low in God's fear, that ye may all come to reign and have the victory. So rest thy friend in the everlasting Truth.

JOANE BROCKSUPP.

Little Normanton, the 8th day of 5 mo. [July] 1664.

DEAR JOHN BOWNE.—My dear and tender love is unto thee, and I do dearly salute thee and thy dear wife; and to all dear friends with thee, and in the Island and county round about thee is my love reached forth unto them all,—that in the pure and tender love of my Heavenly Father you may all be kept, in that which is everlasting and changeth not. And dear John Bowne, as the Lord gives thee opportunity, my dear love to Nathaniel Sylvester of Shelter Island, whose tender love and fatherly care of my wife when she was with him, the Lord God of my life render into his bosom an hundred fold. So dear John, my dear love is to thee and thy children. Farewell.

THOMAS BROCKSUPP.

In the year 1671, George Fox sailed from London for the West India Islands and the English settlements in America, in company with twelve other friends, among whom was the indefatigable Elizabeth Hooton, who eight years before had encountered the merciless persecutions of the New England Puritans. She was not, however, again to suffer, being, while at Jamaica, permitted to enter that state of being "Where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest." "She was

THE FLUSHING OAKS AND BOWNE HOUSE

well," says George Fox, "the day before she died, and departed in peace, like a lamb, bearing testimony to the truth at her departure."*

George Fox reached Maryland in the early part of 1672, and through many difficulties and great exposure, made his way to New England. His narrative of this journey is curious and full of interest. He visited Long Island, both going and returning. It was probably on his last visit that the meeting under the Great Oaks at Flushing was held, and it is no doubt to this he refers in his journal, "From Oyster Bay we passed about thirty miles to Flushing, where we had a very large meeting, many hundreds of people being there, some of whom came about thirty miles to it. A glorious and heavenly meeting it was (Praise be the Lord God!), and the people were much satisfied." On this visit he stayed, no doubt, at the house of his old friend, John Bowne, who appears to have met him in England. Returning to the South, he labored most assiduously in Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, enduring hardships which would have appalled a less earnest servant of his Divine Master, and from which it is not improbable that his constitution seriously suffered. It would appear from parts of his narrative, as indeed is known from the accounts of other Friends, that some declension from the truth had taken place, especially in Virginia, owing partly to the introduction among them of the opinions of John Perrot, tending to the promotion of a Pharisaical spirit which seems ever to have been the form in which spiritual declension has most manifested itself amongst professing Quakers. It was while out upon this exposing and hazardous journey that George Fox wrote the following letter to his friend, John Bowne. By his Journal it appears that the evening before its date, he landed from an open boat, having encountered a great storm, while crossing an arm of the sea, in which they became thoroughly wet, and "building a fire in the woods, lay there all night, the wolves howling about" them. The original letter has been unhappily mutilated; all that can now be read is what follows, brief, but eminently characteristic and apostolic. Geo. Fox to John Bowne:

*Note. Journal Bi-Cent. ed. 2: 160.

"[ ] in the love of God together, by and in which you are edified and built up. Our travels have been great by land and water through Maryland and Virginia and Carolina; that had we not returned as we did we might have been frozen up. But we have returned back to Maryland. The work of the Lord is great and his Truth spreadeth greatly—praised be God! In Carolina we met with [who have not?] kept the Truth, and several others, but I hope they will mend—and a good service we had there. Remember my dear love to Friends in Oyster Bay and Gravesend, and all the rest, as though I named them—and for all of them to dwell in the word of God together as Heirs of Grace and Life. And so the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, be in and with you all. Maryland, 11 mo: 1st, 1672. Amen.

G. F."

Hannah Bowne, the wife of John Bowne, became a minister in the Society of Friends. In the early part of the year 1675, she left home to pay a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain. John Bowne records that on the 22d of Third month, of that year, he "went with his dearly beloved wife on board Andrew Bowne's ship at Staten Island, bound for London, where he parted with her on the 24th."

In the following letter from John Bowne to his wife, there are allusions which would seem to apply to a class of persons whom George Fox speaks of, and whom he appears to have severely rebuked for their folly and contentious spirit: "Here (at Oyster Bay) we met with some bad spirits, who had run out from truth into prejudice, contention, and opposition to the order of truth, and to Friends therein. These had been very troublesome to Friends in their meetings, there and thereabouts formerly, and it is like, would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be formerly, and likely would have been so now; but I would not suffer the service of our men's and women's meetings to be interrupted and hindered by their cavils." (Journal, 1672, Bi-Cent. ed. 2: 167.) In another respect the letter is interesting, as showing the affectionate regard in which Hannah Bowne was held by her neighbors:

Oyster Bay, 18th of 3 mo: [May] 1676.

My Dear Wife.—In that unfeigned love, that in God's truth lives in my heart do I salute thee, thou innocent Lamb, wherein I have full satisfaction that we have a sensible feeling of each other's faithfulness to God, and resignedness to His will, for which I desire forever to bless

the Lord, and am ever made to praise His name in the assemblies of his saints. By this thou may understand that I am every way well. Blessed be the Lord! My father and children, I hope are all well, and family in pretty good order. * * Dear Heart, to particularlize all that desire to be remembered to thee would be exceeding large, but this I may say, for all Friends in general, relations, neighbours and people, the like largeness of love for one particular person I have seldom found amongst them as is for thee. * * * Mathew [?] Prior came home just to this meeting, with tidings of thy being gone, for which the Lord had fitted me, as thou hast known in like cases formerly. Blessed he His name! Thy letter has not yet come to me, but I hope will speedily. * * * Dear Henry Greene is here, who never saw the like in his life as yesterday. (* * *)—whose unmannerly actions did much discover themselves to the people, as thou hast largely seen before, and art able to give an account to Friends. Robert Stowe and his are here with many more friends for whom I am much concerned, in what service I can. I received a letter from dear John Burnyeat, to whom I hope to write shortly; but this is in great haste in hopes to reach a ship at South Hold bound for London. So dear Heart salute me dearly to dear George Fox J. E. and all good friends who know me as if named. So in that which is beyond words, my dear Lamb, I bid thee farewell.

Superscribed, "To be left with John Elson at the Sign of the Peel, St. John St. For my dear wife Hannah Bowne, London, Old England, These."

John Elson seems to have been a noted Friend in his day. George Fox says, in leaving London, in 1674, he had a glorious meeting with some Friends "at John Elson's":

JOHN BOWNE TO HANNAH BOWNE.

Flushing, 23rd 5 mo: 1676.

Dear Heart, my Well Beloved Wife.—In the fresh springs of life doth my unfeigned love abundantly flow to thee, and in the blessed Truth do I dearly salute thee, and in Spirit embrace thee. When we are inseparably united as in God's counsel, we abide. The which, above all things is the desire of my Soul, and not for us only, but for all the upright-hearted in every place, who set a holy resolution to follow the leadings of the blessed spirit of Truth, which leads into all Truth, and in the meekness and humility to abide, where safety is. So shall we be of good Savour unto the Lord, and unto all men, and shall adorn the Truth which we profess—which, being continued unto the end will have a better reward than an earthly crown. Oh my dear, the breathing of my heart is, day and night, unto the Lord, for thy preservation, and through and over all trials thou mayst meet with—all of which I have no cause to doubt, because I know thy heart is upright to the Lord, and he is faithful and true in all his promises. So that I can joyfully rest content in the will of God, to whom

be faithful obedience rendered, and living praises returned forever more. Amen! My dearly beloved, I spake a word or two to thee, before our parting, that thou mightest give me as clear an account as thou make free to do, by writing, of what might be in thy view, as to thy travel on thy return. From the first, not knowing how it might be as touching myself, as concerning coming over after thee. The which, at times, as I was in my work, it was daily presented in my mind, until I could not longer delay to speak to Francis, and my dear daughter Betsy, concerning their taking the charge of all my business and family; the which they were both very free unto. After to my aged Father, to know his willingness—which was more than I could expect. So that it now rests on my mind, more and more to hasten the dispatch of all my Summer concerns, and to Settle all accounts, and to put all things in the best order I can, to be ready for the next good opportunity which may present. So if no tidings of thy Sudden return, or some other things which I expect not, do not prevent, but the Lord make way for it, then I hope in the 10th month, if not before, to be in London, where I shall be glad to meet with thee, if the Lord so order it, and from thence to have thy company into my own country,* after which I know not but I may be free to accompany thee, if the Lord see it good, till we come to our dear children again—whose dear love is to thee, and they are all well, and pretty willing to part with me for thy sake, that I may accompany thee. Now my dear, I would not have thee be troubled for the children, for if I leave them, I doubt not it will be well * * * * * * William Edmundson and J. Fletcher have gone from Rhode Island, Eastward, but I expect them here about the 6th mo. meeting. Many friends have been taken away by Sickness in Maryland. As to the war, [King Philip's War, 1675-76 (?)] we have no noise of it of late. We have been very quiet on that account since thou went, and hope it may continue So. The Lord is pleased to bless these parts with a plentiful harvest * * * * *. My dearly beloved thou art more to me than [ought beside?], therefore I committ thee to the Alone Protector; To Him who is alone able to preserve through whatever he may Suffer us to be exercised with, and so with dear love once more to thee I take my leave and rest thy true and faithful Husband.

JOHN BOWNE.

P. S.—Now dear heart I must acquaint thee, to thy grief as has been to mine, that my sister did take a husband yesterday. It is the man that went and came with L. Morris† and us to the new countries—of this should opportunity offer to inform thee more, I shall. She desires her love may be remembered to thee. I enclose a letter from our dear daughter Betsey to thee: for whom I have cause to rejoice that the Lord hath made her so content to undergo the charge; and also so good an example to those of Younger years. So, my dear, in that love that never changeth, I bid thee farewell.

*Note. His native place, Derbyshire, is no doubt meant. [C. Y.]

†Note. For Lewis Morris see page 79.

Elizabeth, the daughter of John and Hannah Bowne, was born in 1658. At the date at which the following letter was written, she was eighteen years old. At that early age she was left in charge of her parents' household, including an octogenarian grandfather and five younger children. The letter shows a maturity of mind and a depth of religious experience which might well warrant her father's trust in her care. That beloved mother, for whom her young heart yearned so tenderly, and with whom she fondly trusted that a reunion would be vouchsafed, she was never more to see until they met in those blessed regions

"Where love is an unerring light,
And joy its own security!"

This letter affords almost the only glimpse of one whom it presents to us in so attractive light. We would fain penetrate the gloom to learn more of her, so young, so loving, and so trusted. We are only told that she married, and that, alas! too soon, she died.

Dear Heart, my Dearly Beloved Mother—Oh! how doth my heart flow unto thee, for indeed thou art very dear unto me, although we are far separated as outwardly, Yet we are near one unto another in that which neither Sea nor land can separate, and I believe, as we in this unchangeable truth abide, we shall be kept near and dear unto one another, and the Lord in his own time will bring us together again with joy, and dear Heart, I believe the Lord will carry us through all that he calls us unto to the honour of his blessed name. Although I am but one among the least of the people of the land, he will not forsake them that put their trust in Him, for his care is over them and he will cover their heads in the day of trouble. Oh! that we may forever abide in the fear of the Lord! where Safety is known, and dear mother as touching our Souls desire, we may and hope we shall order all things so that truth may not be dishonoured by us. And I desire thee to remember my best love to dear George Fox and J. Burnyeate. So with my dear love to thee I rest thy loving daughter.

This 18th 6 mo: 1676. Elizabeth Bowne.

During the absence of John and Hannah Bowne, their aged father, Thomas Bowne, died at the age of 82 years. He is supposed to have joined the Society of Friends, his death being entered upon their records.

John Bowne left home in pursuance of the intention com-

municated to his wife to meet her in London, where he arrived Eleventh month 13, 1676. He travelled with her for some months, when he was called upon to encounter a severe trial of his faith in her removal by death, which occurred in the Eleventh month, 1677, at the house of John Elson, in London.

It appears that she had twice crossed the Atlantic in the work of the ministry, and had also travelled extensively on this continent. She was interred on the 2d of Twelfth month, 1677, on which occasion there was a large meeting of Friends at the house of John Elson. "We had," says her husband, "a precious meeting before her body was carried forth, and I am a living witness, with many more, that the living power of God with us, accompanied her body to the ground." And now (he continues), it is the breathing of my soul to the Lord that the residue of my time here, I may live her life, and not only perform the faithful and true care of a loving father, but also keep the diligent watch of a tender mother unto and over our dear children. And so, in true tenderness and brotherly love, I dearly salute all faithful friends to whom this may come, and bid you all farewell. Your friend and brother in the Truth,

JOHN BOWNE."

At the meeting above referred to on the occasion of the funeral of Hannah Bowne, her husband delivered the following discourse, "as in the simplicity of truth it arose," and appears subsequently to have disseminated it as a testimony to his deceased wife.

"My dear Friends, for so I can truly call you:—The desire of my heart is that every mind may sink down inwardly, that so you may feel, ye may taste and truly savour that which springs from the Lord's begetting. For I can in truth say it livingly springs in my heart this day; although I may in some sense truly declare, that my naturals have been even as dissolved in this weighty exercise, in this deep and very near trial, wherewith my heavenly Father's pleasure hath been to prove me, who now hath seen good to gather to himself into everlasting rest, that which He alone hath prepared and fitted for Himself out of that earthly tabernacle which now I must leave behind, as once the thing sprang in her that she must stay behind her husband.

Now must I leave this earthly tabernacle to be laid amongst many of the Lord's worthies; yea, amongst his valiants and amongst His tender babes, many of whom we have been truly refreshed with for these many years. And I know not any place from my outward being could have been such a satisfaction to me as with you at this time; and I find myself, having this opportunity, weightily concerned to testify a little of the abundance that is in my heart concerning my dear and tenderly beloved, to whose charge I have not anything to lay since I first enjoyed her company, to declare a little to you, my friends, to ease my heart in this matter. When I first heard of her, before I saw her face, a true love was begotten in my heart towards her, because of the love of God that lived in her; and that from her childhood she sought after heavenly things; whose face, when I did behold it, I may say it was outwardly beautiful and amiable, and so it hath continued unto me, and to all that truly knew her. She was very zealous for the Lord in what she knew in that day, and from the first closing with the thing I declared unto her, she hath been truly faithful unto me until her last minute. As I have often heard her say, the resolution of her heart and the bent of her spirit was altogether to be subject unto me in all things, which for conscience's sake, she could do. But after the Lord's messengers came amongst us and declared the eternal Truth, she readily joined with it and durst not derogate from it. She was a true and tender mother to her children (seven I hope are yet remaining of them). Her care over them was such that she would never consent to part with any one of them out of her family, except I could describe a place better for them, for their eternal well-being. But when the Lord laid it upon her then she was truly willing to leave both her native country, her husband and children, and all her dear relations, and after some other difficult travels, she was concerned to see Friends in the nation of England, which, being accomplished in an acceptable time, she returned to my own dwelling, where joyfully she was received of all that truly knew her. But in a little time she declared unto me that when she was upon the seas, it was in her view that she must say, 'Husband, I have come to see thee, but I must not tarry,' which came to pass in some months' time,

that except she returned to England again, she could not enjoy peace with the Lord, at the knowledge of which I could freely have given all to have accompanied her, but not daring to stir without the leading of the Lord, I was made freely willing to part with her and remain at home with my little ones. But after some time, the thing sprang in my heart to make preparation to come to England; and it was made truly easy to me that if the Lord required her travelling in these countries, that I should take the care of her and accompany her, if it were to the disbursing of half my outward estate. But when I came here, I understood she was in Ireland, which place I expected I might find her in, which being accomplished, it lay upon her spirit to visit Friends throughout all that nation; wherein I did accompany her willingly to a thousand miles' travel, and afterwards came over to England, to parts of many counties in this nation, hoping, when I came to London, the Lord would make her way homeward. But a necessity was laid upon her of further travel in these countries, but it was much with me to press her so far as I durst to haste away to her children; and when I durst proceed no farther, I gave up to accompany her wheresoever the Lord might order her, which hath been through Holland, Friesland, and as far as the city of Embden, in the Low Countries, which was the furthest place that stood in her view ere she went over, through all of which I have a testimony in my heart, she was made serviceable for the Lord, and particularly at that city of Embden, having cleared her conscience to those that were convinced, and they, from that, established their meeting twice a week, which had long been discontinued—Through all which countries she was enabled to clear her conscience to them in their own langauge, in which she had been little exercised ever since I had the knowledge of her. After which being accomplished, 'Now,' said she, 'if there were a ship at London, am I ready to return home. ' 'Nay, my dear,' said I, 'if there were a ship I should not carry thee at this season of the year.' 'Oh! said she, 'I would scruple no season, if it were the Lord's time.'

"Now, my dear friends, as the Lord hath enabled me, have I, in short, given you this account for your satisfaction con-

cerning her, though I am well persuaded it need not be spoken to many of you. And thus can I, in truth, say as I said at first, I have nothing to lay to her charge since I first knew her. And I am satisfied, in my own heart, that her garments are clean, and were clean and without spot. A tender mother to her children, and faithful wife to her husband—and, that which passeth all, truly resigned up, to serve the Lord to the utmost of her power, having truly denied all, parted with all, forsaken all, to answer the Lord's requiring. And now, to add a little for the sake of those that are convinced of the truth to whom this may come. She was always diligent in what she undertook; ever shy of coming into debts, and always careful to answer engagements and perform to everyone the thing that was equal on all accounts; ever willing to make use of things above her ability, but constantly minding that which was decent, comely and of good report amongst sober people; and when concerned in her family to exhort, reprove or correct, it was done in tenderness, wisdom and godly fear to the reaching God's witness, and causing the stubborn nature to bow. She could always freely make use of what the Lord did afford her, for the service of Truth and the friends thereof, never questioning but the Lord would take the care of her, and provide when she was concerned to leave all her outward acquaintances and travel upon Truth's account in divers countries where she was a stranger; always believing that the Lord would take away all scruples—remove all doubts—concerning her that might arise in any of his faithful people. And in all the time of the weakness of her body, there was not the least appearance of any trouble upon her mind, and some of her last words to me were, if the Lord should take her away, to remember her dear love to all Friends that are faithful, and to her dear children; and not long after she passed away without a sigh or groan. Willing submission, faithful obedience and loving praises be unto God forever, saith my soul. Amen."

And here the veil of well nigh two centuries interposed between the firm, devoted, generous, loving John Bowne and ourselves....We only know that after the death of the remarkable woman whom he so faithfully and so tenderly portrayed in his funeral discourse, he lived about two years a widower and was

then married, in 1679, to Hannah Bickerstaffe; that in the year 1690 she too departed, and that after three years he was united to Mary Cock. Two years after this last marriage there is found on the minutes of Flushing Monthly Meeting the solemn record:

"John Bowne died the 20th day of the Tenth month [December], in the year 1695, and was buried the 23rd of the same, being about 68 years of age. He did freely expose his life and estate to the services of truth, and had had a constant meeting in his house near about forty years. He also suffered much for truth's sake."

And so the good man passed away.

> "Life's labors done, serenely to his final rest he passed,
> While the soft memory of his virtues yet
> Lingers, like twilight when the bright sun is set."

One of the six daughters of John Bowne, who gladdened that home over which the devoted wife, whose price was above rubies, presided, has passed before us like a gleam of sunshine, too soon to disappear forever.

It would be unjust to another to withhold the following fragment doubly worthy of preservation, as the only trace that is left of the writer, and for the singular combination of maidenly feeling, Christian discretion and filial piety which distinguishes it. The writer was the fourth daughter of her parents.

HANNAH BOWNE, JR., TO HER PARENTS.

[Without date.]

And dear Father and Mother I may also acquaint You that one Benjamin Field, the youngest son of my friend Susanna Field, has tendered his love to me—the question he has indeed proposed—as concerning marriage—the which—as yet—I have not—at present rejected—nor given much way to—nor do I intend to proceed nor let out my affection too much towards him—'till I have well considered the thing, and have yours and friends advice and consent—concerning it.

The result was such as might have been anticipated. The record states that Hannah Bowne was married to Benjamin Field.

When reflecting upon the characters of the simple-hearted and truly excellent persons who have passed before us, we are not to forget that the pictures which are presented to us are

not portraits. We see only their virtues, for the maxim that "of the dead no evil shall be spoken," commends itself too strongly to generous hearts to permit their failings to be unveiled. Yet it is not to be doubted that failings there were. Whensoever we find these venerable persons devoted above all things to the will of their heavenly Father; when it is evident that the promotion of revealed truth was the paramount object of their lives, and that truth included the loftiest code of morals, the utmost purity of life, and the deepest and most enduring love to their fellowmen; that no sacrifice was too dear, nor suffering too severe, provided that the truth was thus to be upheld; and when we consider that their faith included the sensible communication with the Author of their lives, who was to them, with a peculiar emphasis, a God of love, and that to love Him was their chief enjoyment, as it was their highest duty, it cannot be doubted that whatever momentary clouds of human frailty might pass over them, holiness, purity and depth of mutual love, and adoring acquiescence (resignation is an inadequate expression) in the Divine Will, were the habits of their mind. And if so, who more truly illustrated and "adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour," or are more truly to be numbered with those who

> "Grow familiar, day by day,
> With His conceptions—act upon His plan,
> And form to His, the relish of their souls"?

Note. Illustrations.—Reuben Haines, of Germantown, Philadelphia, kindly furnished the photograph of the "Old Bowne House" in 1906, from which the Frontispiece is reproduced.

"The Flushing Oaks" (p. 57) is from a lithograph of a drawing of T. K. Wharton made probably between 1840 and 1850. For this plate THE BULLETIN is indebted to David S. Taber, of New York. The house on the right is the "Bowne House;" that in the center was built by Samuel Parsons, Senior. There were once three oaks; all have now gone.—(Editor.)

INTER-YEARLY MEETING CORRESPONDENCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

One of the most interesting sessions at the Five Years' Meeting of 1907, held at Richmond, Indiana, was that in which the subject of Inter-Yearly Meeting Correspondence was under consideration. The conclusion reached was that, "Epistles be made brief, and covering matters of present vital interest within the Yearly Meeting sending them; and that the mode of presentation be left entirely to the judgment of the Yearly Meeting receiving them." (Minutes Five Years' Meeting, 1907, p. 99.) In connection with this subject the two following epistles of the eighteenth century will be of interest. It will be seen that the Epistle from Virginia Yearly Meeting very closely follows the lines laid down in 1907. It is brief; it covers matters of vital interest to the Virginia Friends at the time of writing, and there is very little "preaching," one of the points objected to in the discussion. (Minutes and Proceedings, Five Years' Meeting, 1907, pp. 286, 347 ff.) The Epistle from Philadelphia in answer, it must be confessed, does not fulfill the conditions as well. It is one-fourth longer; it tells little or nothing of vital interest in Philadelphia at the time of writing, and there is a good deal of "preaching." Compared with average recent epistles, both of these old ones are brief—that from Philadelphia being only about half as long as some of the American Epistles of 1907, while that from Virginia is almost exactly the length of the shortest American Epistle of 1907.

The Virginia Epistle is printed from the original, and the Philadelphia Epistle from what appears to be the original draft, but unsigned by the clerk. Both these documents are in the Library of Haverford College. The dates are Old Style.

From our Yearly Meeting held in Henrico County, Virginia, ye 16, 17 & 18th, of the 7th month, 1748.

To Friends at their next Yearly Meeting to be held for Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Dear Friends

In that Love that first gather'd us to be a people we sallute you, and let you know the affairs of this our Annual Meeting has been carried on in a good Degree to mutual Satisfaction and by Accounts received from the Several Quarterly meetings Love and Unity seems to abound in most Parts of this Collony and our Disciplin Preserved.

And as Heretofore, so now there is great Openness amongst the People to hear the Gospel Preached, Divers being convinced since our last, and it seems to us that if the Faithful among us continue to shew forth the work of the Spirit of Christ (by Humbly Walking in the Dictates thereof) the Borders of Sion will be Enlarged, in this Wilderness Land. Friends also keep steady to their Testimony's against Priests Wages so Call'd, and Bearing armes to the great Impoverishment of some Poor Friends, by the Vigorous Siesures of the Officers on their goods to Double or Treble the Vallue, but in other Places they are very moderate Endevering only to take sufficient to Pay the Demand, which is Cause to believe that as we Continue Patiently to Suffer in due time will Terminate to the Praise & Glory of God as well as comfort of his People.

Your Epistle for the year 1747 Came not to hand which we Excuse believing it miscarried and not your neglect. We shall be glad to Continue our Corrispondance with You, and in that love which unites the Hearts of the Faithfull we Sallute You and remain Your Friends & Brethren.

Sign'd by order of our said meeting by

JOHN PLEASANTS

Cl.

From our Yearly meeting held in Philad[a]: for Pensylvania and New Jersey from 16[th] to the 20[th] 7 mo: 1749 Inclusive.

To Friends at their next Yearly Meeting in Virginia.

Dear Friends

In the Love of our Heavenly Father we Salute you, the overshadowing of which hath been Experienced in this Our Yearly Meeting to the refreshment and Comfort of the faithful.

[MS. One sheet folio: the original Epistle.]

For the Continuance of which high favour we bless the Great author thereof.

By accounts received from our Several Quarterly Meetings it Appears that Love and Unity Subsists amongst us, our meetings kept up and our Discapline in a good degree kept to—

Your Epistle of 1748 was read in our Meeting to Satisfaction. We know not the reason why our Epistle of —47 Came not to Your hands. The necessary Care was taken by us in order to Continue that friendly Correspondance which we have heretofore had (we trust) to our mutual Satisfaction, and hope the same may long remain.

It is with gladness we hear that friends of your province remain Steadfast in our Religious principles In times of Suffering believing that whensoever the Lord in his wisdom Calleth his people thereunto, if there be a faithfull Continuance therein, There will be the same ocasion to Say as they antiently did. Those light Afflictions which are but for a moment worketh for us a far more Exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory.

And That there Continues an openness in the hearts of the people to hear the Gospel preached is Comfortable intilligence, being assured that wheresoever the Gospel is recieved in the Love of it, and it hath its Effect upon the mind, it is found indeed to be Glad tideings of Great Joy.

If we as a people who through divine favour have had Experience of it, and have found that precious pearl which removes the Cause of Discord and brings peace on Earth and good will amongst men are found faithfull therein, and by our prudent Conversation and Equitable Conduct manifest the same, we trust the Effects thereof will be precious, and hope with you that the borders of Zion may yet be enlarged.

That the wisdom from above (which is pure, peacible & Gentle) may possess both you and us, and y^{t} by applying our hearts thereto we may be Directed and preserved through the deficulties and Successive perrils in this life Blameless unto the end, are the fervent desires of Your friends and Brethren.

Signed by order & on behalf of our meeting.

[John Kinsey *Clerk.*]

[One sheet folio—apparently original draft, but unsigned by Clerk.]

LETTER OF GEORGE WHITEHEAD TO THOMAS LLOYD AND ARTHUR COOK, 1690.

George Whitehead, the author of the following letter, was one of the most prominent of the early Friends. He was born at Sun-bigg, in Westmorland, about 1636. His parents were Presbyterians in good circumstances, and gave their son a good education in "Grammar Learning." He was of a serious disposition, and when only about fourteen, became much dissatisfied with the religious teachings he received. Hearing of the Quakers, he attended one of their meetings at Sedberg, Yorkshire, and became convinced that his place was with that "small, despised people." He began to preach when hardly eighteen, and from that time for about seventy years was active in the ministry. He soon met with George Fox and joined with him heart and soul. He was one of that band of sixty ministers, almost all young men, who went out of the North, carrying their Gospel message over a good part of England.

He was not only a preacher, but a great doctrinal and controversial writer as well. The list of his works in Smith's catalogue of Friends' books occupies twenty-four pages.

All through his life, and particularly during his maturer years, he was one of the pillars of Quakerism. He bore his full share of suffering for conscience's sake. He influenced greatly the doctrinal statements of the Society, and was a leader in all its work, and after the death of George Fox he was recognized as the foremost Friend in the body. He was a great spokesman for Friends, and again and again, was the one to plead personally before the English monarchs and those in authority. In this capacity he appeared before Charles II; James II; and in 1697, and 1699, before William III. He was one of the deputation of Friends that presented an address of loyalty and affection to Queen Anne on her accession (1702), and he headed a deputation to greet George I on his accession (1714); finally,

in 1716, when over 80, he presented to the king another congratulatory address with a short speech. "He departed this life in great peace and quiet the eighth day of the First month [March], 1722-23, about the eighty-seventh year of his age."

Arthur Cook, to whom, without question, in conjunction with Thomas Lloyd, the letter is addressed, was a Friend, and prominent in the early history of Pennsylvania. He was several times appointed judge (first in 1685); was also a special commissioner in 1685, with four others, "to hear and determine all heinous and enormous crimes that shall be brought before them in the county of Bucks, at a special court"; in 1690 he was a "Provincial Judge"; and was, in 1686, appointed Councillor and Lieutenant Governor for three years. He was Assistant to the Governor in 1696. Governor Markham, in the same year, charged him with concealing important papers from him, but one would wish to hear Arthur Cook's side of the question before giving judgment. He died before 1700 (Col. Rec. Penna. 1: 153, 164, 212, 324, 505, 607; Penna. Archives 4th Ser. 1: 85.)

The letter is written in George Whitehead's fine, clear handwriting, and fills one side of a folio sheet. So far as known, it has not been published before, and is printed from the original, which is in the possession of the editor.

George Whitehead to Thomas Lloyd and Arthur Cook.

Dr. ffriends T[homas] LL.[oyd] and A.[rthur] C.[ook].

One thing I have late Intimation of abo^{t}. some differences among you for Some of You (concerning Your outward Governm^{t}. and Dividing it. And abo^{t}. Choosing Deputies or psons to Act in Goverm^{t}. & 3 Counties Ruling by y^{m}.selves &c) I doo no^{t} well Understand Your Methods but if you let up Division among Yourselves abo^{t}. those matters also, it will greatly cause Truth to Suffer and bring You under a Contempt and will look ill here, and as if y^{e} Lord in Displeasure did withhold Counsell from You. We are troubled to hear of any Such Divisions among You tending to make a Noise and a Dust and to bow Truth's name & ffrids under Suffering and reproach (if things be As represented) It is ffeared to Endanger W. P.[enn] and his As to the loss of y^{e} whole or at least the 3 Lower Countyes and

bring Your Selves Under the lash here (as I am tould) These things in true love I acquaint you with yt. you may make the best Use thereof. And have a Care of making Such Alterations in your Governmt. as may be Unsafe to the whole. We hope the Ld. will free W. P. out of his troubles and Exercises In his own time though he has bin long frustrated of his Intentions of coming over to You. Yor. deare Friend. G W.
London. ye 30th 7mo 1691.

Addressed:

For
His Loving Friend
Thomas LLoyd
President—
in Pennsilvania
in
America—
These

QUAKER PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, 1652-1667.

There has been lately published by the Bibliographical Society of London, "A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667." This work was compiled by Henry R. Plomer, and issued in 1907. It contains 199 pp, small 4to., and is full of out-of-the-way information.

The seventeenth century was, in England, emphatically an age of controversy; and opponents, at the slightest provocation, rushed into print with broadsides, pamphlets, quartos and even folios. There were few newspapers and no reviews, so this was the best way to reach those who could not be met personally, and also to bring one's views before the public. The amount of

Quaker literature published in those years is very great, as the two bulky volumes of Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books testify; but if the other literature, theological and political (for there was little else), be taken into account, the total amount is truly vast. A collection of pamphlets, newspapers, etc., made between 1640 and 1666, by a bookseller named George Thomason, which was most fortunately preserved, and is now in the British Museum, numbers 22,255 pieces! This, it should be remembered, covers only twenty-six years.*

In the Dictionary above mentioned, a Friend naturally looks to see what can be learned of those who printed, published, and sold Friends' books. As comparatively little Quaker literature appeared before 1655, the Dictionary covers only about fifteen years of Quaker publishing.† A search, perhaps not exhaustive, has disclosed the names of several who dared to print and put their names on such literature. For it must be borne in mind that, for much of the time, it was the period of "licensed," that is to say, restricted printing, against which Milton, in his treatise, *Areopagitica,* makes such an eloquent plea. While under the Commonwealth, there was comparative freedom, at the restoration of Charles II. the liberty of the press was greatly restricted, the laws of Charles I., and of Parliament were put in force, and new ones enacted. Under these, fines, imprisonments, and even death were inflicted for printing "seditious, treasonable, schismaticall, and scandalous books and papers." As usual, the Friends did not escape.

Taken alphabetically, the names noticed are the following:

"GILES CALVERT, a bookseller in London; Black-Spread-Eagle, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1639-1664. He was the publisher of much of the earlier Quaker literature, and his name appears on many of George Fox's tracts. It does not, however, appear that he ever was a Friend himself. On Cromwell's accession to power, he was one of those appointed official 'printers' to the Council of State. This appointment shows that he was in favor with the Government, and explains how it was that he was able

*Note. A catalogue of the collection has been recently published by the British Museum, 2 vols. 30 shillings.

†Note. George Fox's first dated work, according to Smith, was issued in 1652.

to publish Quaker books without restraint." He was once arrested and thrown into prison for publishing a certain pamphlet, but suffered only a few weeks' imprisonment. He died in 1664, and was succeeded by his wife, Elizabeth Calvert.* She was, both during her husband's lifetime, and afterwards, imprisoned several times by Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Surveyor of the Press, appointed by Charles II, in 1663."

"Francis Cossinet, bookseller in London: (1) Golden Anchor in Tower Street at Mincheon Lane end; (2) Tower Street at the corner of Mincing Lane; (3) Anchor & Mariner in Tower Street, 1658-69. Dealt in sea-faring books and Quaker literature."

"William Larner, bookseller in London, 1641-59"; sold 'Baby Baptism meer Babism.'† etc., by Samuel Fisher; 'At the Sign of the Blackmore [moor] at Fleet-bridge, 1653.' This book was printed by Henry Hills (1647-85?), who was one of the 'printers' to the Council of State noted under Giles Calvert. It was also sold by 'Richard Moon, bookseller in London; Seven Stars in St. Paul's Churchyard, neer the great north doore.'"

"Roger Norton, Junior, printer in London, 1662-68; printed for Giles Calvert a tract of Edward Burrough's" (Smith 1:356).

"Thomas Simmons, bookseller in London, Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, 1656-62; publisher of Quaker books." With Calvert and Robert Wilson, he was the publisher of most of the earliest Quaker books. Many of Fox's and Burrough's tracts bear his imprint. He does not appear in Smith as a Friend.

"Andrew Sowle, printer in London: (1) Pye Corner, Smithfield; (2) Crooked Billet, Holloway Lane, Shoreditch, 1653-67. Son of Francis Sowle, of the parish of St. Sepulchre's, yeoman. Born in 1628. Apprenticed on July 6, 1646, to Ruth Raworth for seven years. Although his name is not found in an imprint before 1683, there is no doubt that he was the printer

*Note. The large number (40) of women noted in the Dictionary who were printers or booksellers is remarkable; true, most of them were widows or daughters who succeeded to the business of husbands or fathers, but that fact of itself is worthy of special mention.

†Note. The title of this work, written by Samuel Fisher, is a good example of the long and singular titles so much affected in those days. It is too long to quote, but may be seen in full in Smith's Catalogue, 1: 613.

of most, if not all [?] of the early Quaker literature." "His daughter, Elizabeth, married, in 1685, her father's apprentice, William Bradford,* who emigrated to America and set up his press in Pennsylvania, and afterwards in New York." Another daughter, Tace Sowle, succeeded her father in his business, and ultimately married Thomas Raylton. She printed a number of Friends' books (see Smith 2: 157). She was, at her death, 1735-36, said to be the oldest printer in London. (See Jour. Friends' Histor. Society, 4: 4). Andrew Sowle died in 1695, aged 67. There is a very interesting account of him in "Piety Promoted" (vol. 1: 115-118, Phila. ed.). He became a Friend "in his young years" and "he bore a faithful testimony" for the rest of his life. "He met with great losses, and had, at one time, by his adversaries, about a thousand reams of printed books taken from him, yet he was never heard to complain." "His printing press also was several times broken up."

"William Warwick, bookseller in Colchester (?), 1663. His name is found on the imprint to a pamphlet entitled 'Some Worthy Proverbs Left Behind by Judith Zins-Penninckt to Be Read in the Congregation of the Saints.' Translated into *English* by one that testifieth that God is no respecter of persons, for whosoever worketh righteousness, and feareth him, of what Nation, Countrey, Tribe or Language soever he or she be, such find acceptance with the Lord. W[illiam] C[aton], London, Printed for William Warwick, 1663." W. Warwick also printed "A Testimony," etc., to Edward Burrough, in 1662; and William Ames's "Sound out of Zion," in 1663. The imprint, as given by Smith, "London. Printed and are to Be Sold by William Warwick," would seem to imply that in 1662 and 1663, Warwick was resident in London, and not Colchester, as the Dictionary supposes. (Smith 1: 367; 1: 28.)

"Thomas Wayte (or Waite), bookseller at York; The

*Note. The subsequent history of William Bradford in America, his work, and his connection with the Keith schism, is part of Pennsylvania history.

†Note. Judith Zins-Penninck or Zins-Penning, was a Dutch woman, the wife of Jacob Williamson Sewel, and the mother of William Sewel, the well-known Quaker historian. She died at Amsterdam, 10th, 7th month, 1664. A copy of the above tract, which is somewhat rare, is in the Haverford College Library. (See Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, 2: 980, 981. Sewel's History of the Quakers, London, 1722: 397, 398; 439-444).

Pavement, 1653-95. Joined the Quakers about 1651, and acted as local agent for Friends' publications. Several tracts, all dated 1653, written by George Fox, Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, and William Tomlinson, have the imprint: "Printed for Tho. Wayte at his house in the Pavement in York," or "Printed for Thos. Wayte, and are to be sold," etc. Wayte's name occurs in a list of 'dispensers of Quaker books,' drawn up in 1664. He married the sister of Richard Smith, a tanner of York, and his house became a noted meeting place for Friends. Thomas Wayte died in 1695." (See also First Publishers of Truth, p. 318.)

"JOHN WHITE, bookseller in London; Threadneedle Street, behind the Old Exchange, 1661." He printed several tracts for George Fox. "Printed for John White and are sold at the backside of the Old Exchange." (Smith 1:666.)

"ROBERT WILSON, bookseller in London; St. Martins le Grand, near Aldersgate, 1660 (?)-62 (?). A dealer in Quaker literature. In a letter to Richard Smead, mercer of Bristol, written in 1661, he says: 'I am exposed in this day through many and frequent sufferings to severall difficulties: for very often am I plundered by ye rulers of my goods; burning them at home and abroad.' The same year he was committed to the Gatehouse for selling 'seditious pamphlets against the Government of the Church of England.' A list of books seized at his shop in that year was published in *Mercurius Publicus* on November 28th."

This closes the list of names noticed in the Dictionary, but doubtless a number of others could be traced by a careful comparison with the entries in Smith's catalogue. These will suffice to give some information on a not uninteresting topic.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TITLES AND INDEXES.—It is expected to issue with the last number of volume 2, a Title and Index to volumes 1 and 2.

PARENTAGE OF THE EARLY FRIENDS.—"It is quite a mistake to suppose that the early Friends come only from common stock. Many were, doubtless, enrolled from among the laboring classes, but thousands also came of the very best county families, and hundreds can prove Royal descent.

"In this connection it may be mentioned that, even during the lifetime of George Fox, the new sect numbered about 60,000 people, and that therefore, in tracing the ancestry of present-day Friends, we are not dealing with the descendants of a *few* families, as is imagined by many who are not fully acquainted with the history of Quakerism. As an instance, it may be stated that, in all probability, at least half the members of the present House of Commons [1907], have Quaker descent, and indeed it is difficult to find one who has *no* Quaker ancestor."

Josiah Newman in "Some Special Studies in Genealogy, pp. 51, 52.

THE SCOTCH COLLEGE IN PARIS.—The following "note" comes from Paris, through Norman Penney. No attempt has been made to correct the English.

"It is still lasting in the Cardinal Lemoine Street, No. 65; but it is no more a college for Scotch or whatever students. It is a school where young men are prepared for the degree of bachelor. The buildings, at least some of them, have been preserved. In the parlor, tombs and funeral monuments are to be seen. The front on the side of the street has not been altered; it is a high, sad, sooty front with four lines of high narrow windows. Above the main door is this inscription: "College de Escossois."

WILL OF LEWIS MORRIS, 1691.—In the will of Lewis Morris, of New York, "commonly called Colonel Morris," upon whose estate "Letters of Administration [were] granted to his nephew, Lewis Morris, by Governor Henry Slaughter, May 15, 1691, there occur the following items: "I give to the meeting of Friends, called Quakers, belonging to Shrewsbury in East New Jersey, £5 per annum, to be raised out of my Plantation at Tinton Iron Works, in New Jersey, to be paid to them on the 25th day of the first month, called March."

"I leave to my honored friend Wm. Penn, my negro man Yoff, provided he come to dwell in America."

"I leave to the meeting in New York, £6 per annum, to be raised out of my Plantation over against Harlem."

"I leave to John Bowne of Flushing, 1 negro girl that is at old Thomas Hunts, and like legacies to Miles Forster and Richard Jones."

John Bowne was also appointed one of the "overseers" of the estate. (Collections of the New York Histor. Society, 1892. pp. 182, 183.)

Lewis Morris, was no ordinary man. He was born in Monmouthshire, Wales, and fought at the head of a troop of horse against Charles I. He afterwards went to Barbados and bought a "lovely estate" there. In 1654 a commission as Colonel was sent to him by Oliver Cromwell, and he took part in the expedition against Jamaica. Sometime after this he openly professed the principles of the Friends, and welcomed George Fox on his visit to Barbados in 1671, and entertained him at his house. George Fox says, "I went home with Lewis Morice [Morris] that night, being about nine or ten miles, going part of the way by boat, the rest on horseback. The place where his plantation was, I thought to be, in the finest air of the island." (*Journal,* Bi-Cent. ed. 2: pp. 152, 153). On the death of his brother Richard, who lived in New York, he went there in 1673, and in 1675, removed and settled at Broncksland [Bronx], Westchester county. He was a member of Governor Dongan's Council, (1683-1686). He died, as stated above, in 1691. He suffered much in goods on account of his Quaker views while in Barbados. It was the estate of Richard Morris that gave the name to Morrisania, now part of New York City. (See Col. Docs. N. Y. 2: 619; "Memorials Admiral Penn" 2: 41, 42, 46; *Fox's Journal* (2: 152, 153. Bi-Cent.) Bessie's "Sufferings" 2: 313, 314, 315.)

Inventory of Lewis Morris's Estate.—The inventory of this estate would seem odd for a Friend at the present time. "Inventory of estate of Colonel Lewis Morris, taken by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, John Pell and William Richardson, 1691. 3 gallons spirits, 12s; 1 barrel molasses, £1.10; 1 barrel muscovado sugar, £3.9; 900 ounces of Plate, at 3s. 9d., £303.15; 180 guineas, £211.3; 1 double guinea, £2.14; 23 Jacobuses [a gold coin of James I], £34.10; 6½ Jacobuses, £4.10; 4½do., £1.10; 1 Pistole, £1.4; 2 double doubloons £9.12; 50 acres wheat; £30; 22 negro men, £440; 11 negro women, £165; 6 boys, £90; 2 "garles," £24; 25 children, £125; 24 gallons refined molasses, at 18d, £1.16; 24 oxen, £72; 17 cows, £34; 4 bulls, £8; 30 horses, mares and colts, £60; 30 swine, £9. A very long list of articles showing great wealth. Total, £4,071." (Collections of New York Historical Society, 1892, p. 196).

Release of Friends by Charles II.—Among the very interesting relics in the Friends' Reference

Library at Devonshire House, London, and one with which George Whitehead was closely associated, is a copy of the "Charter of Release" or "Pardon" granted by Charles II, in 1672, to Friends who were in prison "convicted of a premunire," and other offences against the royal statutes, or "under sentence of transportation." Of such there were about 500.

This venerable document is written in Latin on eleven large skins of vellum, and contains the names of 491 persons lying in jail in England and Wales. The legal forms required that these names should be repeated eleven times. As the pardon had to be presented personally to the sheriff in every county, several copies of the document were made, each having the great seal of England attached in a metal case.

George Whitehead's account of how this pardon was obtained from the King, and how he and two other Friends went into the neighboring counties on horseback, carrying this precious "large instrument" with them, and thereby securing the liberty of many Friends, is graphically told in his autobiography. But to carry this release to the sheriff of every county, even with several copies, would involve much labor and uncertainty. It so happened that just at this time all the sheriffs of England and Wales came to London to attend a term of court, and George Whitehead saw his opportunity for solving a great difficulty—that of being certain to find the sheriffs. He tells us how he skillfully arranged matters, and then how he and Ellis Hookes "went to the sheriffs severally at their inns and offices and shewed them the King's patent with the liberates, that they might see how agreeable they were, and they approved thereof and readily signed and sealed each liberate, being warrant to each jailer to set our Friends at liberty, out of jail in each county." (See Christian Progress of George Whitehead, London, 1725, pp. 350-366; for copy of Document and List of Names, pp. 696-712); also William Beck, "George Whitehead," London, 1901.

John Bunyan.—In the document just described there are a few names of persons not Friends. The story of their inclusion is too long to relate. Other persons were imprisoned for attending conventicles, and for preaching at the same. Among these was John Bunyan who had been kept in Bedford jail for twelve years. His friends were anxious to get him released, and also some others. Knowing of George Whitehead's efforts and success, they came to him for advice, "which," says George Whitehead, "I was very willing to give in compassion to them, and accordingly I advised them to petition the King (with the names of the prisoners in it), for his warrant to have them inserted in the same patent with the Quakers, which they accordingly did petition for and obtain." Among these was John Bunyan.

Though he had been a strong opposer of Friends, and he and

Edward Burrough had fulminated against each other in a style which surprises us of this day, Bunyan had no objection to be set free through the advice and assistance of the Quakers, or to have his name appear alongside of theirs in an official document.

Erratic Spelling.—As an illustration of the uncertain spelling of the 17th century, it may be mentioned that out of the eleven times Bunyan's name appears in the document just mentioned, it is spelled in four different ways, viz.: Bunyan, five times; Bunnyan, three times; Bunnion, twice; Bunnyon, once. The spelling of this name seems to have been unusually erratic, for Bunyan's children appear on church registers as, Bunyan, Bonion, Bonyon (See George Whitehead, "Christian Progress," pp. 358, 359. John Brown, "John Bunyan," 3rd ed. London, 1888, pp. 187, 188, 238).

Quaker Records.—The excellence and accuracy of the Records of the English Friends has long been known. An interesting and valuable account of them has recently been published in "Some Special Studies in Genealogy," Edited by Charles A. Bernau.

This little handbook of 96 pages contains three parts: i, American Emigrants, How to trace their English Ancestry, By Gerald Fothergill; ii, The Quaker Records, By Josiah Newman; iii, The Genealogy of the Submerged, By Charles A. Bernau.

The thirty pages devoted to Quaker Records give a clearer idea of the subject than can probably be found elsewhere, certainly in as short a compass. The Bibliography, however, leaves a good deal to be desired. It is greatly to be regretted that American Friends, at least in some parts of the country, are behind their English brethren as regards accuracy and fullness in the matter of keeping records. This little book—the first of a series known as "The Genealogist's Pocket Library," is published by the Editor, Chas. A. Bernau, Walton-on-Thames, England, 1908.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society, vol. 5, No. 2, Fourth Month, 1908, as usual, is full of matters of historical interest. American readers will turn to "Records respecting John and Margaret Lynam in England and Maryland," which gives letters, and some quaint and interesting documents from the "Half-Years' Meet in Maryland," 18th, 4th Mo., 1683, regarding the "disorderly spirits" which troubled Friends of that Province.

Of still greater interest is the article on "Quaker Ministers and French Police," giving extracts from the records of the Prefecture of Police regarding the visit of Stephen Grellet and William Allen to Paris, dated "4 mai 1824," and "Documents from the Paris National Archives relating to Stephen Grellet."

Petition of John Bowne and Henry Willis.—"To the Governor and his Councell at New York. The address of Henry Willis and John Bowne, conserning the proceedings of a Court Seshons against us who said they fined us ten ponds apeece for suffering our daughters to marrie contrary to their law, which proceedings we are satisfied is without precedent, and we count it no less, but either a mistake or hasty oversight, and though we have endeavoured for its removall yet Execution is eishoed forth and Jos. Lee under shiref hath seases Hen. Willis' barne of corn and since taken from Jo. Bowne five good milch cowes and drove them away by night and kept them pownded from food moste of two nights, one day and part of a day, that neighbors was generally troubled at it. Now in simplissity we doe seriously intreat all that may be conserned here in seriously to consider it and in the coolness of your spirits without anger or hard thoughts truly to waye it in the ballance of Equity where the witness of God may arise in every contience to testifie, whether it would not be to the rewenating of families and the kindling of God's anger against a place or people which we truly desire may be prevented, by taking away ye ocation, whereof we make our address to the Chiefe in authority knowing that Magistrates authority is to preserve men's persons and Estates, but ye perrogative of the conscience that belongs to God and we dare not but yeald obedience thereunto as God hath perswaded our harts and we doe not act (as sometimes resented [taken]) in stubbornness, obstaincy or contempt of authority, but in simplissity, having God's fear in our hearts that we may keepe our consciences clear before him from whom we receive strength to uphould us in tryalls and exercise and we earnestly desire ye Lord may perswade your hearts unto whome we are now concerned, that ye may remove ye cause of this our address, and open that eye in you that can see us as we are, who can pray for those that's in authority that under them we may live a peacable holy and godlike life.

Henry Willis,
John Bowne.

Ye 4th of ye 7th mo. 1680." (Ecclesastical Records, New York, 1:744).

THE LAST DAY OF THE YEARLY MEETING IN 1813.

[The following verses give a vivid, probably an exaggerated, view of the return home from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in the olden days. The Bulletin is indebted to a friend for a copy.—Ed.]

At length the dreaded day has come,
When country-friends must all go home
And leave their feasting here;
Must quit the richly loaded board,

With luscious pies and puddings stor'd,
And sparkling wine or beer.

Farewell, dear hearts; they moaning cry,
Still thinking on the dearer pie
Or sav'ry joint of meat;
Indeed 'tis very hard to part
From you—cranberry pie or tart,
Our homely fare to eat.

To leave your coffee, amber clear,
To drink skim'd milk, or homely beer
And bread not worth a rush;
To leave your beds of softest down,
Exchange for linsey frock the gown,
And lie on beds of straw;

To rise to milking with the light
And go to rest before 'tis night,
Or wash our fingers raw;
Indeed we think it nation queer
That city folks should have such cheer
And not a thing to do.

But yet it's wicked to complain,
For your excess is still our gain,
And you're so very kind,
You give us any price we ask
Whilst we put on the humble mask
And say, "we have not dined."

But now the much lov'd week is o'er.
We from the town in numbers pour
And seek our vacant farms;
Reflecting all the way we go,
On the dear place where pleasures flow
And every object charms.

When Hodge tho' clad in russet grey,
And gaping round has lost his way,
Soon finds a kind friend's home,
Who asks him in, takes off his coat,
And feeds him well without a groat:
He need no further roam.

Now Hodge cleans off his thrice-fill'd plate,
And fixing on his beaver, strait
Pursues the way to meeting.
And marching in with vacant stare
Secures a corner bench or chair,
His country brothers greeting.

And when the Clerk proclaims "adjourn,"
The brother clods together turn,
Says, "Josey where's he dine?"
"Why I don't know—but this here friend
"Has ax'd me home, the day to spend—
"But thy wife's gone with mine."

"Let's go to Jesse Kersey's lodging,
"There many friends are always dodging,
"But Tommy keeps the table.
"He came from Lunnun people say
"And dines on roast-beef every day;
"Indeed he's very able."

This most important subject known
The meeting business all is flown,
They briskly walk the street;

At length arrived at Tommy's door,
Where drabs and sages inward pour,
The gazing throng they greet.

But Tommy's table is too small
To hold his guests—so some, not all,
Must wait a second course;
But now such sauces, so much meat,
Each bounding to the nearest seat
Secures't by friendly force.

Well now suppose the meal is o'er;
Each bids farewell; then seeks the door,
Where horses ready gear'd
Await their master's well known voice,
And take him home against his choice,
Who this great change had fear'd.

First lumbers on, a waggon strong;
And next a sulkey creaks along,
And then a well worn chair;
The waggon's number is but ten,
Eight bounding girls, and two young men,
Their horses black and fair.

The sulkey carries only two;
The driver is obscur'd from view,
With trunks and boxes hid,
And bags and bundles pil'd so high
You scarcely can the whip descry
Slow moving as it did.

And next a chair comes rattling on
With nearly all the harness gone,
But Dapple moves sedate.
Three rosy nymphs fill up the seat,
With each a band-box at her feet,
In Yearly Meeting state.

And now to guard these maidens fair,
Three country beaux keep near the chair,
On plowing coursers sitting,
Each has an oil cloth o'er his hat,
And folded up his white cravat,
To keep for First-day meeting.

And while they move to'ards Schuylkill's banks,
They meet the Jersey going ranks,
Those noted money makers,
Where boats perfum'd await the tide
With glittering scales on either side
First fill'd with fish—then Quakers.

Haddonfield, 4th Mo. 1st, 1817.